

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0366

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 MBFR VIENNA 0199

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUCJECT : MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC OF
JULY 22, 1974, PART TWO: REQUESTS FOR GUIDANCE

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PART TWO OF FINAL AD HOC GROUP
REPORT TO NAC OF JULY 23, 1974, AS APPROVED BY AHG ON
JULY 23, 1974.

BEGIN TEXT:

REPORT OF THE AD HOC GROUP OF 23 JULY 1974

PART TWO: REQUESTS FOR GUIDANCE

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1. IN ITS REPORT OF 5 APRIL ON THE SECOND ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, THE AD HOC GROUP SOUGHT GUIDANCE FROM THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL ON (A) A NUMBER OF POINTS OUTSTANDING IN PARAGRAPHS 29 TO 33 OF CM(73)83 (PART TWO OF THE REPORT); AND (B) A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS ARISING FROM EASTERN COMMENTS ON THE ALLIED NEGOTIATING POSITION (PART THREE OF THE REPORT).

OUTSTANDING POINTS FROM CM(73)83

2. IN THE EVENT, THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE THIRD ROUND DID NOT PROGRESS TO A STAGE WHERE COUNCIL GUIDANCE WAS REQUIRED ON THE OUTSTANDING POINTS IN PARAGRAPHS 29 TO 33 OF CM(73)83. BUT DURING THE FOURTH NEGOTIATING ROUND THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL NEED TO BE ABLE TO OFFER CLARIFICATIONS ON ALL THESE POINTS IF THEY ARE TO COMPLETE THE FORMAL PRESENTATION OF THE WESTERN POSITION SET FORTH IN CM(73)83. UNLESS THIS IS DONE, THE EASTERN SIDE IS LIKELY TO DRAW THE CONCLUSION EITHER THAT THESE POINTS ARE NOT INTEGRAL TO THE ALLIED POSITION OR THAT THEY ARE OF LESS IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIES THAN THOSE ON WHICH EMPHASIS HAS BEEN LAID DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE POINTS OF WHICH GUIDANCE IS REQUIRED ARE:-

(I) PARAGRAPH 29 ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL NEED TO BE IN A POSITION TO PUT FORWARD MORE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS COVERING (A) AGREEMENT BY THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION TO ACCEPT AND RESPECT CEILINGS ON THEIR FORCES IN THE AREA FOLLOWING PHASE I REDUCTIONS AND (B) CERTAIN EXCEPTIONS FOR THE PURPOSE OF ROTATION, REPLACEMENT AND EXERCISES.

(II) PARAGRAPH 30 AT NO POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS SO FAR HAS THE EASTERN SIDE DISPUTED THE ALLIED REQUIREMENT WHICH HAS BEEN REPEATED BOTH IN PLENARY AND INFORMAL SESSIONS THAT, IN ANY AGREEMENT REACHED, THE WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES FROM THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS SHOULD NOT DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF THE FLANK COUNTRIES. EQUALLY HOWEVER THE EASTERN SIDE HAS MADE NO SUGGESTIONS AS TO HOW THIS REQUIREMENT MIGHT BE MET. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL NEED GUIDANCE UNDER THIS HEADING.

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(III) PARAGRAPH 31 IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF THIS PARAGRAPH, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAVE SO FAR MADE NO SPECIFIC PROPOSALS TO THE EASTERN SIDE ABOUT THE KIND OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS WHICH THEY WILL SEEK. MORE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE ON THIS POINT, ON WHICH THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS CAN IF NECESSARY DRAW IN EXPLAINING THE ALLIED POSITION

TO THE EASTERN SIDE, IS NEEDED. THIS GUIDANCE
WILL NEED TO COVER BOTH ASPECTS OF THE HUNGARIAN
ISSUE, NAMELY (A) WHAT IF ANYTHING IS TO BE SAID
TO THE EASTERN SIDE ABOUT THE INCLUSION OF
HUNGARY IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS; AND (B) WHAT
SORT OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS ARE TO BE
APPLIED TO HUNGARY.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

(IV) PARAGRAPHS 32 AND 33 ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAVE SO
FAR PUT FORWARD VERIFICATION REQUIREMENTS IN
GENERAL TERMS ONLY; AND THEY HAVE SAID THAT
VERIFICATION MEASURES SHOULD BE RELATED TO THE
TYPE OF REDUCTION AGREED. SPECIFIC GUIDANCE ON
VERIFICATION MEASURES FOR PHASE I IS NEEDED.
THE AD HOC GROUP HOPES THAT IT MAY BE POSSIBLE FOR THE COUNCIL

TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE ON THE ABOVE POINTS BY 1 NOVEMBER.

THE LINK

3. IF IN RESPONSE TO THE SERIES OF ASSURANCES GIVEN TO THE EAST ON THE ISSUE "WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET" (CM(74)30) THE EAST INDICATES SOME MOVEMENT IN THE
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DIRECTION OF ACCEPTING THE ALLIED TWO-PHASE APPROACH, THE ALLIES WILL NEED TO BE IN A POSITION TO OFFER FURTHER CLARIFICATIONS ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:-

(I) APPROXIMATELY HOW LONG WILL THE "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME" NEED TO BE? SHOULD IT BE MEASURED FROM THE DATE ON WHICH A PHASE I AGREEMENT IS SIGNED OR FROM THE DATE ON WHICH THE AGREEMENT ENTERS INTO FORCE?

(II) CAN THE EAST BE TOLD THAT THE DURATION OF THE "NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT" WILL BE CO-TERMINOUS WITH THE REVIEW PERIOD FOR WHICH PROVISION WILL BE MADE IN A PHASE I AGREEMENT?

(III) IN THE CONTEXT OF DISCUSSION OF THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS COMMITMENT", WHAT CAN BE SAID IN RESPONSE TO EASTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS?
IN ORDER THAT ALLIED NEGOTIATORS MAY BE IN A POSITION TO TAKE PROMPT ADVANTAGE OF A FAVOURABLE EASTERN RESPONSE ON PHASING, THE AD HOC GROUP HOPE THAT THE COUNCIL WILL BE ABLE TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE ON THESE POINTS BY 30 SEPTEMBER.

4. AT A LATER STAGE IN THE SAME DISCUSSION, THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY DURING THE NEXT ROUND, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL NEED TO BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH THREE FURTHER POINTS:-

(I) COULD THE ALLIANCE ACCEPT A CEILING ON US TANKS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IF THIS WOULD MAKE THE PROPOSED WITHDRAWAL IN PHASE I OF 1700 SOVIET TANKS AS PART OF THE SOVIET TANK ARMY MORE NEGOTIABLE?

(II) COULD PROVISION BE MADE FOR NON-CIRCUMVENTION, IN RELATION TO THE FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, OF ANY LIMITATION IN A PHASE I AGREEMENT ON US OR SOVIET ARMAMENTS AND, IF SO, HOW?

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(III) BEARING IN MIND THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO BE RECIPROCAL,
WHAT SHOULD BE THE EVENTUAL FORM OF:

(A) THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT; (B) THE "ALL
PARTICIPANTS" COMMITMENT? SHOULD THEY BE
PROVISIONS IN A PHASE I AGREEMENT, OR SHOULD
THEY BE EXPRESSED SEPARATELY?

FUTURE TACTICS

5. WHETHER OR NOT THE EASTERN RESPONSE ON PHASING IS
FAVOURABLE, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL NEED TO BE IN A
POSITION, EARLY IN THE FOURTH ROUND, TO MOVE ON TO DISCUSS
WITH THE EAST TWO FURTHER ISSUES WHICH HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED
BY THE TWO SIDES IN THE COURSE OF THE MULTILATERAL INFORMAL
MEETINGS SO FAR, NAMELY: WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED; AND WHAT
SHOULD BE THE SCOPE OF REDUCTIONS. THESE TWO RELATED ISSUES
CONCERN TWO OTHER CENTRAL ELEMENTS IN THE ALLIED POSITION:
CONCENTRATION ON GROUND FORCES, AND THE NEED FOR ASYMMETRICAL
REDUCTIONS LEADING TO A COMMON CEILING. IF THE EAST TENTATIVELY
ACCEPTS THE ALLIED TWO-PHASE APPROACH, THESE ARE THE ISSUES ON
WHICH IT WOULD BE NATURAL FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS TO FOCUS
NEXT. IF ON THE OTHER HAND THE EAST SHOWS NO SIGN OF MOVEMENT
ON PHASING, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL STILL NEED TO BE IN
A POSITION TO OPEN UP THESE ISSUES IN ORDER TO AVOID THE
NEGOTIATIONS BECOMING DEADLOCKED, OR THE INITIATIVE PASSING
TO THE EAST.

DATA FOR AD HOC GROUP

6. FOR INTERNAL USE, THE AD HOC GROUP WILL NEED THE LATEST
ALLIANCE-AGREED DATA ON THE FORCES OF BOTH SIDES. THE REVISED
FIGURES ON WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER SHOULD BE BROKEN
DOWN IN TOTALS BY COUNTRY, AND SHOULD INCLUDE THE BREAKDOWN OF
AIR DEFENCE AND HELICOPTER FORCES BOTH BY COUNTRY TOTALS AND
BY GROUND AND AIR FORCE-RELATED COMPONENTS. THE AD HOC GROUP
UNDERSTANDS THAT STUDY OF THESE DATA IS NEARING COMPLETION AND
HOPES THAT THE APPROVED FIGURES CAN BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR IT BY
16 SEPTEMBER.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES

7. THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL ALSO NEED GUIDANCE ON THE PROBLEM OF FORCE DEFINITIONS. THIS PROBLEM IS DESCRIBED IN THE AD HOC GROUP'S MESSAGE TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF 4 JULY TOGETHER WITH AN ACCOMPANYING ANALYTICAL PAPER. AN INTERIM STATEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT WAS MADE TO THE EAST AT THE FINAL INFORMAL MEETING OF THE THIRD ROUND ON 15 JULY. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE IN DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE WITH THE EAST EARLY IN THE NEXT ROUND AND THE AD HOC GROUP THEREFORE HOPES THAT, AS REQUESTED IN ITS MESSAGE OF 4 JULY, THE COUNCIL CAN PROVIDE GUIDANCE ON THIS SUBJECT BY 16 SEPTEMBER.

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DATA ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER

8. THE EASTERN RESPONSE TO ANY MODIFICATIONS IN THE ALLIED DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES WHICH ALLIED NEGOTIATORS PUT FORWARD

MAY BE TO CLAIM THAT A DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES IS IRRELEVANT AND TO INSIST ON THE INCLUSION OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN REDUCTIONS. IN THAT CASE, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WOULD PROPOSE TO ARGUE THAT, ACCORDING TO EXISTING ALLIED ESTIMATES, THE INCLUSION OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER ON BOTH SIDES WOULD NOT HELP TO SOVE THE DISPARITY PROBLEM. THIS RESPONSE WOULD BE MADE IN ORDER TO HIGH-LIGHT THE PROBLEM OF DISPARITY OF GROUND FORCES AS THE MAIN ISSUE WHICH SHOULD BE TACKLED BY REDUCTIONS. TO REINFORCE THIS POINT, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS MAY WISH TO DIVULGE TO THE EAST NATO FIGURES

FOR THE OVERALL AIR FORCE MANPOWER ON EACH SIDE CALCULATED ON THE BASIS OF THE PRESENT DEFINITION. AUTHORITY TO DO THIS IS REQUESTED BY 16 SEPTEMBER.

COMMON CEILING

9. AS A NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE BOTH OF A MODIFIED DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES AND OF THE NEW ALLIANCE-AGREED FIGURES FOR NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL NEED TO KNOW WHETHER ANY ADJUSTMENT IS REQUIRED IN THE ILLUSTRATIVE FIGURE FOR THE COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND FORCE MANPOWER CONTAINED IN THE WESTERN OUTLINE PROPOSALS OF 2 NOVEMBER 1973 AS A RESULT OF THE REVISED DATA BASE NOW BEING AGREED BY THE COUNCIL. GUIDANCE ON THIS POINT IS THEREFORE ALSO REQUESTED BY 1 OCTOBER.

NEW ALLIANCE GROUND FORCE DATA

10. THE AD HOC GROUP BELIEVES THAT THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD BE IN A POSITION TO INFORM THE EAST OF THE NEW ALLIANCE AGREED FIGURES FOR OVERALL NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AT AN APPROPRIATE POINT DURING THE FORTHCOMING ROUND. THE PURPOSE OF THIS ACTION WOULD BE TO MAINTAIN THE AUTHORITATIVENESS OF THE ALLIED CASE ON GROUND FORCE DISPARITY. THE ALLIED NEGOTIATING APPROACH, BACKED BY THE AUTHORITY OF SPECIFIC NUMBERS, IS THAT THERE IS A LARGE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE GROUND FORCES OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT WHICH SHOULD BE ELIMINATED. THUS FAR, THE EASTERN POSITION REASTS ON BARE ASSERTIONS, NOT BACKED BY
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NUMBERS AND NOT LIKELY TO BE IN THE NEAR TERM FUTURE. THE FACT THAT THE ALLIED CASE IS BASED ON SPECIFIC NUMBERS AND THAT THE EAST HAS NOT ADVANCED ANY NUMBERS GIVES THE WESTERN POSTURE CONSIDERABLY GREATER AUTHORITY IN THIS RESPECT, A PONT ADMITTED BY EASTERN NEGOTIATORS.

11. HENCE, THE ALLIES SHOULD INFORM THE EAST OF THE CHANGES WHICH CONTINUED REVIEW OF ALLIED FIGURES HAVE BROUGHT TO LIGHT, USING AS A BASIS THE PRESENT DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. THEY WOULD TELL THE EAST THAT, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE ACCURACY OF ITS OVERALL GIGURES, THE ALLIES ARE KEEPING THE DATA UNDER

CONTINUAL REVIEW. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WOULD USE THIS OCCASION TO AGAIN URGE THE EAST TO TABLE ITS OWN TOTALS. IF THE EAST REFUSES, AS IS LIKELY, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES WOULD AGAIN DRIVE HOME THE POINT THAT THE ALLIED APPROACH IS MORE SERIOUS BECAUSE IT IS BASED ON SPECIFIC FIGURES WHICH THE ALLIES HAVE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE EAST, WHEREAS THE EAST CONTINUES TO TALK IN TERMS OF PERCENTAGES OF AN UNSPECIFIED WHOLE WHOSE SIZE IT REFUSES TO DIVULGE. IN DUE COURSE, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES MIGHT RESPOND TO POSSIBLE PRESS ENQUIRES ABOUT CHANGES IN TOTALS BY GIVING THE NEW FIGURES AND STATING THAT THEY HAD BEEN MADE KNOWN TO THE EAST.

12. AUTHORITY TO TAKE THE PROPOSED ACTION IS REQUESTED BY 1 OCTOBER.

13. TO MAINTAIN THIS PSYCHOLOGICAL AND TACTICAL ADVANTAGE, ALLIED FIGURES PUT FORWARD TO THE EAST HAVE TO CONTINUE TO BE ACCURATE. THE ALLIES HAVE PUT TOTALS ON THE TABLE WHICH THEY ASSERT ARE ACCURATE. THE EAST HAS CHALLENGED THESE TOTALS. OBJECTIVELY, THESE FIGURES ARE IN FACT INACCURATE BY A SMALL PERCENTAGE. IT IS PROB)3 5#-5, SOONER OR LATER, KNOWLEDGE OF THE NEW NUMBERS WILL REACH THE EAST OR EVEN THAT THE NEW NUMBERS MIGHT APPEAR IN THE WESTERN PRESS CREATING CONSIDERABLE EMBARRASSMENT FOR THE ALLIES AND UNDERMINING THE AUTHORITATIVENESS OF THE ALLIED POSITION. THE LONGER THE DELAY, THE GREATER THIS RISK.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE OF DATA

14. IF THE EAST RESPONDS TO THE ALLIED DEMAND FOR AN EXCHANGE OF OVERALL MANPOWER FIGURES ON BOTH SIDES AND THE OVERALL FIGURES DIFFER, THE NEXT STAGE WOULD BE FOR THE ALLIES TO PROPOSE A RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE WITH THE EAST OF A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF THESE OVERALL FIGURES, FOR GROUND AND IF NECESSARY AIR MANPOWER. THIS WILL BE THE ONLY PRACTICAL WAY TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCE OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE FIGURES QUOTED BY THE TWO SIDES. IN ORDER TO BE PREPARED FOR THIS EVENTUALITY, THE AD HOC GROUP WILL NEED BY 1 OCTOBER AUTHORITY TO EXCHANGE DATA ON A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS.

NON-CIRCUMVENTION MEASURES FOR AIR FORCE MANPOWER
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15. IN DISCUSSING PROBLEMS OF DEFINITIONS AND DATA, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL BE FACED WITH RENEWED INSISTENCE BY THE EAST THAT REDUCTIONS SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO GROUND FORCES BUT SHOULD BE APPLIED TO ALL ELEMENTS IN THE FORCES OF BOTH SIDES. WITH THE GUIDANCE ON GROUND FORCE DEFINITIONS REQUESTED IN PARAGRAPH 7 ABOVE, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD HAVE SUFFICIENT MATERIAL TO SUPPORT THEIR EFFORTS TO CONCENTRATE THE DISCUSSION ON GROUND FORCES FOR A TIME. THEY WILL HOWEVER NEED TO BE IN A POSITION, AT SOME TIME DURING THE NEXT ROUND, TO EXPLAIN HOW THEY PROPOSE TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER ESPECIALLY IN THE LIGHT OF THE MODIFIED DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES THEY WILL HAVE PUT FORWARD. THE AD HOC GROUP'S TENTATIVE VIEW IS THAT, IN THE CONTEXT OF REDUCTIONS OF GROUND FORCES, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO FIND SOME WAY OF DEALING WITH THE QUESTION OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE AD HOC GROUP REQUESTS GUIDANCE ON THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:-

(I) DO THE COUNCIL CONSIDER THAT, FOR THE PURPOSE OF ENSURING NON-CIRCUMVENTION OF A PHASE I AGREEMENT RELATING TO GROUND FORCES, THE ALLIANCE WILL HAVE TO ENVISAGE SOME FORM OF LIMITATION OF THE AIR FORCE MANPOWER

OF BOTH SIDES WITHIN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS?

(II) IF SO, CAN THE ALLIES INDICATE THIS TO THE EAST
AS AN INITIAL ANSWER TO EASTERN CRITICISMS OF THE
OMISSION OF AIR FORCES FROM THE WESTERN PROPOSALS?
IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO THE AD HOC GROUP TO HAVE GUIDANCE ON
THESE QUESTIONS BY 15 OCTOBER.

POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER

16. THE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS IN PARAGRAPH 12 WILL NOT
SATISFY EASTERN DEMANDS FOR REDUCTIONS. THE ALLIANCE WILL
NEED TO DECIDE WHETHER ANY MOVE SHOULD BE MADE TOWARDS MEETING
SUCH DEMANDS, EITHER AS A MEANS OF SECURING FURTHER REDUCTIONS
IN WARSAW PACT CAPABILITY OR AS A POSSIBLE INDUCEMENT TO THE
EAST TO ACCEPT WESTERN PROPOSALS FOR REDUCTIONS TO APPROXIMATE
PARITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. IN CONNECTION THEREFORE WITH
THE QUESTIONS IN PARAGRAPH 12, THE COUNCIL MAY ALSO WISH TO
CONSIDER WHETHER IT WOULD BE TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE ALLIANCE TO OFFER

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TO EXTEND REDUCTIONS TO AIR FORCE MANPOWER, AND THUS BRING
AIR FORCE MANPOWER WITHIN THE SCOPE OF A REVISED COMMON CEILING.
IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO THE AD HOC GROUP TO BE INFORMED OF THE
COUNCIL'S THINKING ON THIS ISSUE.

NUCLEAR FORCES

17. IT IS LIKELY THAT THE EAST WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR ALL
ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA TO BE SUBJECT TO REDUCTION, I.E., FOR THE
INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR FORCES. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL MAINTAIN
THEIR CASE FOR LIMITING REDUCTIONS TO CONVENTIONAL GROUND
FORCES, AS THEY HAVE DONE DURING THE FIRST THREE ROUND. BUT THE
COUNCIL MAY WISH TO CONSIDER WHETHER ANY VARIATION OF THIS POSITION
SHOULD BE OFFERED TO THE EAST.

END TEXT. RESOR

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